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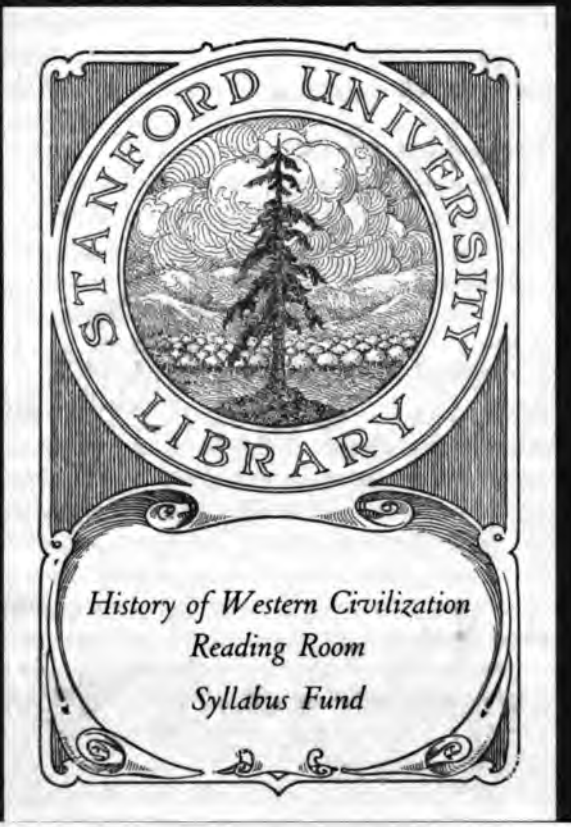

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Translations and Reprints

FROM THE

Original Sources of European History

URBAN AND THE CRUSADERS.

EDITED BY

DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M.

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THE use by readers and students of those original documents from which our knowledge of history is so largely drawn has come to be valued in recent times at something like its true worth. The sequence of past events, the form and spirit of institutions, the character of men, the prevailing habits of thought, obtain their greatest reality when we study them in the very words used by the men to whom the past was the living present. Even historians who have not been characterized by a close dependence on the results of patient investigation of the sources have recognized the superiority of an appeal to original testimony. Mr. Froude says, "Whenever possible, let us not be told about this man or that. Let us hear the man himself speak, let us see him act, and let us be left to form our own opinion about him." And in "Stones of Venice," Mr. Ruskin writes, "The only history worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats, the history of what was done and seen, heard out of the mouths of the men who did and saw. One fresh draught of such history is worth more than a thousand volumes of abstracts, and reasonings, and suppositions and theories."

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History of Western Civilization

TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS

FROM THE

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY.

VOL. I. URBAN AND THE CRUSADERS. NO. 2.

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I. *SPEECH OF URBAN II. AT THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT. November 26, 1095.*

Four contemporaries, who were probably present at the Council of Clermont, give in their histories accounts of Urban's speech. No one pretends to reproduce his exact words. Each gives an outline of what was said, and dwells on the part which especially interested him. Guibert of Nogent was most affected by the mysticism of the Pope, and the need of contending against Anti-Christ, when he should arise. Baldric of Dol's account is the least full, and adds little to the other accounts. The versions given by Fulcher of Chartres and Robert the Monk are reproduced here. (For other versions, see Röhricht: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, II, 45.)

The version of Urban's speech given by William of Tyre, though the one generally quoted, is wholly untrustworthy. The learned bishop colors and reworks the accounts of the contemporaries, and adds some statements of his own. He speaks of Peter the Hermit, who is not mentioned by any one of the first four and who certainly was not mentioned by Urban. His whole account reflects the ideas of a later age.

Of Urban's speech Wilken says: "Many orations have been delivered with as much eloquence, and in as fiery words as the Pope used, but no other oration has ever been able to boast of as wonderful results."

I. *Version given by Fulcher of Chartres.*

Recueil, III, 322 ff. Bongars, I, 382–383. Latin.

Most beloved brethren, moved by the exigencies of the times, I, Urban, wearing by the permission of God the papal tiara, and spiritual ruler of the whole world, have come here to you, the servants of God, as a messenger to disclose the divine admonition. I desire that those whom I have believed to be the faithful servants of God shall show themselves such, and that there shall be no shameful dissimulation. But if there is in you, contrary to God's law, any deformity or crookedness, because you have lost the moderation of reason and justice, I will earnestly strive to root out the fault. For the Lord has placed you over His family as stewards in order that you may feed its members with pleasant tasting food suited to the time. You will be happy indeed, if when He requires of you an account, He shall find that you have been faithful in your stewardships. You are also called shepherds; be not hirelings. Be true shepherds and have your crooks always in your hands. Fall not asleep, but watch in all places over the flock committed to your charge. For if, through your carelessness or negligence, any wolf snatches away a sheep, you will not only lose the reward prepared for you in the presence of your Lord, but also, having been first bitterly tortured by remorse for your crimes, you will be savagely hurled into the deadly abode.

In the words of the Gospel, "Ye are the salt of the earth." But if you fail in your duty, how, we ask, can it be salted? Oh, how admirable is that salting! Truly, you must strive by the salt of wisdom to correct these foolish people, hastening open-mouthed after the pleasures of this world, lest putrefied by sins and unsalted, they may be a stench in the nostrils when the Lord wills on some future day to address them. For if, through your neglect of duty, He shall find in them any worms, that is sins, He will in contempt order them to be hurled into the abyss of unclean things. And because you are unable to make good to Him so great a loss, He will certainly drive you, condemned by His judgment, from the presence of His love.

But for this reason the distributor of this salt ought to be wise, prudent, modest, pacific, learned, watchful, pious, just, equitable, pure. For how can the unlearned make others learned, the immodest make others modest, the impure make others pure? If any one hates peace, how can he be a peace-maker? Or if one's own hands are unclean, how can he cleanse the impurities of another? We read also that "if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." Accordingly first correct yourselves, so that without reproach you may be able to correct those under your charge.

If you wish to be the friends of God, do willingly the things which you believe to be agreeable to Him. Look to it especially that the rules of the church are vigorously maintained, so that simoniacal heresy in no way takes root among you; take heed lest purchasers and venders alike, struck by the chastisement of the Lord, be miserably driven through narrow ways to confusion and destruction. Keep the church and those in its service entirely free from all secular power, cause the tithes due to God from all the fruits of the field to be faithfully paid; let them not be sold or held back. If any one shall lay hands on a bishop, let him be considered as wholly an outlaw. If any one shall seize or despoil monks, priests, nuns, and their servants, or pilgrims or merchants, let him be anathematized. Let robbers, incendiaries and their accomplices be shut out from the church and stricken with the anathema. Therefore we must, as Gregory says, especially consider how he, who steals the property of another, is to be punished, if he who from his own possessions does not employ a part in alms, incurs the damnation of hell. For so it befel Dives mentioned in the Gospel, who forsooth was punished not for having stolen the property of another, but because he was a bad steward of what had been intrusted to him.

By these evils, therefore, as has been said, dearly beloved brethren, you have seen the world troubled for a long time to such an extent that in some places in your provinces, as has been reported to us—mayhap through your weakness in administering justice—hardly any one can venture to travel upon the highways, by night or day, without danger of attack by thieves or robbers; and no one is sure that his property at home or abroad will not be taken from him by the violence or craft of the wicked. Therefore, let us re-enact the law made by our holy ancestors long ago and commonly called "the Truce" [of God]. I most earnestly exhort you that each one should strenuously do all in his power to have it observed in his bishopric. But if any one misled by pride or cupidity breaks it voluntarily, let him be anathematized by the authority of God and by the sanction of the decrees of this council.

(Here Urban paused and the council enacted the decrees which he desired, and which all who were present took oath to obey faithfully. The Pope then proceeded:)

Since, oh sons of God, you have promised the Lord more earnestly than heretofore to maintain peace in your midst and faithfully to sustain the laws of the church, there remains for you, newly fortified by the correction of the Lord, to show the strength of your integrity in a certain other duty, which is not less your concern than the Lord's. For you must carry succor to your brethren dwelling in the East, and needing your aid, which they have so often demanded. For the Turks, a Persian people, have attacked them, as many of you know, and have advanced into the territory of Romania as far as that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Arm of St. George;* and occupying more and more the lands of those Christians, have already seven times conquered them in battle, have killed and captured many, have destroyed the churches and devastated the kingdom of God. If you permit them to remain for a time unmolested, they will extend their sway more widely over many faithful servants of the Lord.

Wherefore, I pray and exhort, nay not I, but the Lord prays and exhorts you, as heralds of Christ, by frequent exhortation, to urge men of all ranks, knights and foot-soldiers, rich and poor, to hasten to exterminate this vile race from the lands of our brethren, and to bear timely aid to the worshippers of Christ. I speak to those who are present, I proclaim it to the absent, but Christ commands. Moreover, the sins

* The Hellespont.

of those who set out thither, if they lose their lives on the journey, by land or sea, or in fighting against the heathen, shall be remitted in that hour; this I grant to all who go, through the power of God vested in me.

Oh, what a disgrace if a race so despised, degenerate, and slave of the demons, should thus conquer a people fortified with faith in omnipotent God and resplendent with the name of Christ! Oh, how many reproaches will be heaped upon you by the Lord Himself if you do not aid those who like yourselves are counted of the Christian faith! Let those who have formerly been accustomed to contend wickedly in private warfare against the faithful, fight against the infidel and bring to a victorious end the war which ought long since to have been begun. Let those who have hitherto been robbers now become soldiers of Christ. Let those who have formerly contended against their brothers and relatives now fight as they ought against the barbarians. Let those who have formerly been mercenaries at low wages, now gain eternal rewards. Let those who have been striving to the detriment both of body and soul, now labor for a two-fold reward. What shall I add? On this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on the other the joyful and the rich; here the enemies of the Lord, there His friends. Let not those who are going delay their journey, but having arranged their affairs and collected the money necessary for their expenses, when the winter ends and the spring comes, let them with alacrity start on their journey under the guidance of the Lord.

2. *Version given by Robert the Monk.*

Recueil, III, 727 ff. Bongars I, 31–32. Latin.

Oh, race of Franks, race from across the mountains, race chosen and beloved by God—as shines forth in very many of your works—set apart from all nations by the situation of your country, as well as by your catholic faith and the honor of the holy church! To you our discourse is addressed and for you our exhortation is intended. We wish you to know what a grievous cause has led us to your country, what peril threatening you and all the faithful has brought us.

From the confines of Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople a horrible tale has gone forth and very frequently has been brought to our ears, namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God, a generation forsooth which has not directed its heart and has not entrusted its spirit to God, has invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them

by the sword, pillage and fire; it has led away a part of the captives into its own country, and a part it has destroyed by cruel tortures; it has either entirely destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of its own religion. They destroy the altars, after having defiled them with their uncleanness. They circumcise the Christians, and the blood of the circumcision they either spread upon the altars or pour into the vases of the baptismal font. When they wish to torture people by a base death, they perforate their navels, and dragging forth the extremity of the intestines, bind it to a stake; then with flogging they lead the victim around until the viscera having gushed forth the victim falls prostrate upon the ground. Others they bind to a post and pierce with arrows. Others they compel to extend their necks and then, attacking them with naked swords, attempt to cut through the neck with a single blow. What shall I say of the abominable rape of the women? To speak of it is worse than to be silent. The kingdom of the Greeks is now dismembered by them and deprived of territory so vast in extent that it can not be traversed in a march of two months. On whom therefore is the labor of avenging these wrongs and of recovering this territory incumbent, if not upon you? You, upon whom above other nations God has conferred remarkable glory in arms, great courage, bodily activity, and strength to humble the hairy scalp of those who resist you.

Let the deeds of your ancestors move you and incite your minds to manly achievements; the glory and greatness of king Charles the Great, and of his son Louis, and of your other kings, who have destroyed the kingdoms of the pagans, and have extended in these lands the territory of the holy church. Let the holy sepulchre of the Lord our Saviour, which is possessed by unclean nations, especially incite you, and the holy places which are now treated with ignominy and irreverently polluted with their filthiness. Oh, most valiant soldiers and descendants of invincible ancestors, be not degenerate, but recall the valor of your progenitors.

But if you are hindered by love of children, parents and wives, remember what the Lord says in the Gospel, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake shall receive an hundred-fold and shall inherit everlasting life." Let none of your possessions detain you, no solicitude for your family affairs, since this land which you

inhabit, shut in on all sides by the seas and surrounded by the mountain peaks, is too narrow for your large population; nor does it abound in wealth; and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. Hence it is that you murder and devour one another, that you wage war, and that frequently you perish by mutual wounds. Let therefore hatred depart from among you, let your quarrels end, let wars cease, and let all dissensions and controversies slumber. Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre; wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves. That land which as the Scripture says "floweth with milk and honey," was given by God into the possession of the children of Israel.

Jerusalem is the navel of the world; the land is fruitful above others, like another paradise of delights. This the Redeemer of the human race has made illustrious by His advent, has beautified by residence, has consecrated by suffering, has redeemed by death, has glorified by burial. This royal city, therefore, situated at the centre of the world, is now held captive by His enemies, and is in subjection to those who do not know God, to the worship of the heathens. She seeks therefore and desires to be liberated, and does not cease to implore you to come to her aid. From you especially she asks succor, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you above all nations great glory in arms. Accordingly undertake this journey for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven.

When Pope Urban had said these and very many similar things in his urbane discourse, he so influenced to one purpose the desires of all who were present, that they cried out, "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" When the venerable Roman pontiff heard that, with eyes uplifted to heaven he gave thanks to God and, with his hand commanding silence, said:

Most beloved brethren, to-day is manifest in you what the Lord says in the Gospel, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them." Unless the Lord God had been present in your spirits, all of you would not have uttered the same cry. For, although the cry issued from numerous mouths, yet the origin of the cry was one. Therefore I say to you that God, who implanted this in your breasts, has drawn it forth from you. Let this then be your war-cry in combats, because this word is given to you by God. When an armed attack is made upon the enemy, let this one

cry be raised by all the soldiers of God: It is the will of God! It is the will of God!

And we do not command or advise that the old or feeble, or those unfit for bearing arms, undertake this journey; nor ought women to set out at all, without their husbands or brothers or legal guardians. For such are more of a hindrance than aid, more of a burden than advantage. Let the rich aid the needy; and according to their wealth, let them take with them experienced soldiers. The priests and clerks of any order are not to go without the consent of their bishop; for this journey would profit them nothing if they went without permission of these. Also, it is not fitting that laymen should enter upon the pilgrimage without the blessing of their priests.

Whoever, therefore, shall determine upon this holy pilgrimage and shall make his vow to God to that effect and shall offer himself to Him as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead or on his breast. When, truly, having fulfilled his vow he wishes to return, let him place the cross on his back between his shoulders. Such, indeed, by the two-fold action will fulfill the precept of the Lord, as He commands in the Gospel, "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."

II. *THE TRUCE OF GOD.*

The Truce of God was proclaimed at Clermont, but the wording of the decree has not been preserved. Consequently, we give here, first, the Canon enacted by the Council, as reported by William of Malmesbury, and second, a Truce which was framed twelve years before and which served as a model for later enactments.

1. *The First Canon of the Council of Clermont.*

William of Malmesbury, Book IV, chap. 2. Rolls Series. Latin.

Be it enacted, that monks, clergymen, women, and those who may be with them, shall remain in peace every day; farther, on three days, viz., the second, third and fourth days of the week, an injury done to any one shall not be considered an infraction of the Peace; but on the remaining four days, if any one injures another, he shall be considered a violator of the Sacred Peace, and shall be punished in the manner decreed.

2. *The Truce of God for the Diocese of Cologne.** April 20, 1083.
M. G. LL. vol. ii (1837), pp. 55–58, left-hand columns. Reprinted from the above in Altmann and Bernheim's Ausgewählte Urkunden, etc. (Berlin, 1895), pp. 204–207, Latin.

Inasmuch as in our own times the church, through its members, has been extraordinarily afflicted by tribulations and difficulties, so that tranquility and peace were wholly despaired of, we have endeavored by God's help to aid it, suffering so many burdens and perils. And by the advice of our faithful subjects we have at length provided this remedy, so that we might to some extent re-establish, on certain days at least, the peace which, because of our sins, we could not make enduring. Accordingly we have enacted and set forth the following: having called together our parishioners to a legally summoned council, which was held at Cologne, the chief city of our province, in the Church of St. Peter, in the 1083d year of our Lord's Incarnation, in the sixth indiction, on the XII day before the Kalends of May, after arranging other business, we have caused to be read in public what we proposed to do in this matter. After this had been for some time fully discussed "pro and con" by all, it was unanimously agreed upon, both the clergy and the people consenting, and we declared in what manner and during what parts of the year it ought to be observed:

Namely, that from the first day of the Advent of our Lord through Epiphany, and from the beginning of Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost and through that whole day, and throughout the year on every Sunday, Friday and Saturday, and on the fast days of the four seasons, and on the eve and the day of all the apostles, and on all days canonically set apart—or which shall in the future be set apart—for fasts or feasts, this decree of peace shall be observed; so that both those who travel and those who remain at home may enjoy security and the most entire peace, so that no one may commit murder, arson, robbery or assault, no one may injure another with a sword, club or any kind of weapon, and so that no one irritated by any wrong, from the Advent of our Lord to the eighth day after Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost, may presume to carry arms,

* This document has been preserved only in the form in which the Bishop of Cologne communicated it to the Bishop of Münster. The Truce decreed by Henry IV. in 1085 is modeled upon this, and its language is in many parts the same. A translation of the latter decree can be found in Henderson's Select Historical Documents (London, 1892), pp. 208–211.

shield, sword or lance, or moreover any kind of armor. On the remaining days indeed, viz., on Sundays, Fridays, apostles' days and the vigils of the apostles, and on every day set aside, or to be set aside, for fasts or feasts, bearing arms shall be legal, but on this condition, that no injury shall be done in any way to any one. If it shall be necessary for any one in the time of the decreed peace—*i. e.*, from the Advent of our Lord to the eighth day after Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost—to go from one bishopric into another in which the peace is not observed, he may bear arms, but on the condition that he shall not injure any one, except in self-defence if he is attacked; and when he returns into our diocese he shall immediately lay aside his arms. If it shall happen that any castle is besieged during the days which are included within the peace the besiegers shall cease from attack unless they are set upon by the besieged and compelled to beat the latter back.

And in order that this statute of peace should not be violated by any one rashly or with impunity, a penalty was fixed by the common consent of all; if a free man or noble violates it, *i. e.*, commits homicide or wounds any one or is at fault in any manner whatever, he shall be expelled from our territory, without any indulgence on account of the payment of money or the intercession of friends, and his heirs shall take all his property; if he holds a fief, the lord to whom it belongs shall receive it again. Moreover, if it is learned that his heirs after his expulsion have furnished him any support or aid, and if they are convicted of it, the estate shall be taken from them and given to the king. But if they wish to clear themselves of the charge against them, they shall take oath with twelve, who are equally free or equally noble. If a slave kills a man, he shall be beheaded; if he wounds a man, he shall lose a hand; if he does an injury in any other way with his fist or a club, or by striking with a stone, he shall be shorn and flogged. If, however, he is accused and wishes to prove his innocence, he shall clear himself by the ordeal of cold water, but he must himself be put into the water and no one else in his place; if, however, fearing the sentence decreed against him, he flees, he shall be under a perpetual excommunication; and if he is known to be in any place, letters shall be sent thither, in which it shall be announced to all that he is excommunicate, and that it is unlawful for any one to associate with him. In the case of boys who have not yet completed their twelfth year, the hand ought not to be cut off; but only in the case of those who are

twelve years or more of age. Nevertheless if boys fight, they shall be whipped and deterred from fighting.

It is not an infringement of the peace, if any one orders his delinquent slave, pupil, or any one in any way under his charge to be chastised with rods or cudgels. It is also an exception to this constitution of peace, if the Lord King publicly orders an expedition to attack the enemies of the kingdom or is pleased to hold a council to judge the enemies of justice. The peace is not violated if, during the time, the duke or other counts, advocates or their substitutes hold courts and inflict punishment legally on thieves, robbers and other criminals.

The statute of this imperial peace is especially enacted for the security of those engaged in feuds; but after the end of the peace, they are not to dare to rob and plunder in the villages and houses, because the laws and penalties enacted before the institution of the peace are still legally valid to restrain them from crime, moreover because robbers and highwaymen are excluded from this divine peace and indeed from any peace.

If any one attempts to oppose this pious institution and is unwilling to promise peace to God with the others or to observe it, no priest in our diocese shall presume to say a mass for him or shall take any care for his salvation; if he is sick, no Christian shall dare to visit him; on his death-bed he shall not receive the Eucharist, unless he repents. The supreme authority of the peace promised to God and commonly extolled by all will be so great that it will be observed not only in our times, but forever among our posterity, because if any one shall presume to infringe, destroy or violate it, either now or ages hence, at the end of the world, he is irrevocably excommunicated by us.

The infliction of the above mentioned penalties on the violators of the peace is not more in the power of the counts, centenaries or officials, than in that of the whole people in common; and they are to be especially careful not to show friendship or hatred or do anything contrary to justice in punishing, and not to conceal the crimes, if they can be hidden, but to bring them to light. No one is to receive money for the release of those taken in fault, or to attempt to aid the guilty by any favor of any kind, because whoever does this incurs the intolerable damnation of his soul; and all the faithful ought to remember that this peace has not been promised to men, but to God, and therefore must be observed so much the more rigidly and firmly. Wherefore we exhort all in Christ to guard inviolably this necessary contract of peace, and if

any one hereafter presumes to violate it, let him be damned by the ban of irrevocable excommunication and by the anathema of eternal perdition.

In the churches, however, and in the cemeteries of the churches, honor and reverence are to be paid to God, so that if any robber or thief flees thither, he is by no means to be killed or seized, but he is to remain there until by urgent hunger he is compelled to surrender. If any person presumes to furnish arms or food to the criminal or to aid him in flight, the same penalty shall be inflicted on him as on the criminal. Moreover, by our ban we interdict laymen from punishing the transgressions of the clergy and those living under this order; but if seized in open crime, they shall be handed over to their bishop. In cases in which laymen are to be executed, the clergy are to be degraded; in cases in which laymen are to be mutilated, the clergy are to be suspended from office, and with the consent of the laymen they are to suffer frequent fasts and floggings until they atone.

III. *PRIVILEGES OF THE CRUSADERS.*

The privileges were of gradual growth. Urban promised remission of sins, possibly more. His successors found it necessary to add great material inducements to the spiritual. As the zeal for the crusades flagged, the privileges increased. Finally when Innocent IV. preached a crusade against a Christian king, Conrad IV., he "granted a larger remission of sins than for the voyage to the Holy Land, and included the father and mother of the crusaders as beneficiaries in the assurance of heaven."

In his struggle against the heretics in Languedoc, Innocent III. made free use of his power to offer inducements to crusaders. The privileges were nearly identical with those granted for the crusades in the East, and the time of service required was only forty days. Those who had taken a vow to fight against the infidels in the Holy Land were freed from their oath on condition that they would fight against the heretics in Languedoc.

The examples given here illustrate the growth of the privileges—until they became burdensome even to those who were supposed to profit by them,—and also the manner in which the popes attempted to turn this weapon against their political enemies.

1. *Privilege granted by Urban at the Council of Clermont, 1095.*
   Labbe, Collectio magna conciliorum, vol. X., col. 507.
   William of Malmesbury in Rolls Series, Book IV, chap. II. Latin.

If any one through devotion alone, and not for the sake of honor or gain, goes to Jerusalem to free the church of God, the journey itself shall take the place of all penance.

2. *Privileges granted by Eugene III, 1146.**
Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici, I, 35 in M. G. SS. xx, 371. Latin.

Moreover, by the authority vested by God in us, we who with paternal care provide for your safety and the needs of the church, have promised and granted to those who from a spirit of devotion have decided to enter upon and accomplish such a holy and necessary undertaking and task, that remission of sins which our predecessor Pope Urban instituted. We have also commanded that their wives and children, their property and possessions, shall be under the protection of the holy church, of ourselves, of the archbishops, bishops and other prelates of the church of God. Moreover, we ordain by our apostolic authority that until their return or death is fully proven, no law suit shall be instituted hereafter in regard to any property of which they were in peaceful possession when they took the cross.

Those who with pure hearts enter upon such a sacred journey and who are in debt shall pay no interest. And if they or others for them are bound by oath or promise to pay interest, we free them by our apostolic authority. And after they have sought aid of their relatives or lords of whom they hold their fiefs, and the latter are unable or unwilling to advance them money, we allow them freely to mortgage their lands and other possessions to churches, ecclesiastics or other Christians, and their lords shall have no redress.

Following the institution of our predecessor, and through the authority of omnipotent God and of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles—which is vested in us by God—we grant absolution and remission of sins, so that those who devoutly undertake and accomplish such a holy journey, or who die by the way, shall obtain absolution for all their sins which they confess with humble and contrite heart, and shall receive from the Remunerator of all the reward of eternal life.

Granted at Vetralle on the Kalends of December.

3. *Decree of Philip Augustus, 1188, concerning the Debts of the Crusaders.*
Rigordus: Gesta Philippi Augusti in Bouquet: Recueil, xvii, 25. Latin.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, Amen. It has

* The whole Bull is translated in Henderson, pp. 333-336. For date, see note in M. G. SS. l. c. and Kugler; Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs, p. 1.

been decided by lord Philip, king of the Franks, by the advice of the archbishops, bishops and barons of his land:

1. That bishops, prelates, and clerks of the conventual churches, and knights who have taken the cross, shall have a respite of two years—dating from the first feast of All Saints after the departure of the king—in paying the debts which they owed to Jews or Christians before the king took the cross; that, is on the first feast of All Saints the creditors shall have a third of the debt, and on the following feast of All Saints a second third of the debt, and on the third feast of All Saints the last third of the debt. Also, for each one, from the day on which he takes the cross, interest on debts previously contracted shall cease.

2. If a knight, who is the legitimate heir, son, or son-in-law of a knight not taking the cross, or of a widow, and who is under the jurisdiction of his father or mother, takes the cross, his father or mother shall have a respite from their debts, in accordance with the above ordinance.

3. If, however, their son or son-in-law, who has taken the cross, is no longer under their jurisdiction, or, if he is not a knight, or, if he has not taken the cross, they shall not enjoy a respite through this decree.

4. Also, within a fortnight after the next feast of St. John the Baptist, those debtors who have lands and revenues, shall through the lords in whose territory the lands are, assign the lands and revenues to their creditors; in order that from these the creditors may collect their debts at the aforesaid times and according to the aforesaid form. The lords shall not be able to prevent those assignments, unless they themselves settle with the creditor for the debt.

5. Those who do not have sufficient lands or revenues to make an assignment for their debts, shall give their creditors sureties or bail that they will pay their debts at the dates fixed. And unless they give security, as has been arranged, through assignment of lands, or sureties, or bail if they have no lands, within a fortnight after the next feast of St. John the Baptist, they shall not have the respite which is granted to others.

6. If any crusader, who is a clerk or knight, is in debt to a crusader, who is a clerk or knight, he shall have a respite from his debt until the next feast of All Saints—provided, however, that he furnishes good security for paying his debt at the time indicated.

7. If any one of those, who have taken the cross, shall have assigned to any one gold, silver, grain, or any other personal property, a week

before the Purification of the Blessed Mary or after that time, the creditor shall not be compelled to give him a respite on that account.

8. If any one buys from another, who has not taken the cross, the usufruct of his lands for one year at a fixed price, the bargain shall stand.

9. If any knight or clerk shall have mortgaged his lands or revenues to a citizen, who is also a crusader, or to a clerk or knight, who is not a crusader, or shall have assigned them for a period of years, the debtor this year shall receive the produce of the lands or the revenues; and the creditors, as a recompense for this year, shall hold the property for one year after the completion of the years for which the mortgage or assignment ought to continue. However, if the creditor shall have cultivated the mortgaged lands or vineyards, he shall have one-half the grain this year for his labor.

10. All bargains made a week before the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, or after that date, shall hold good.

11. For all debts on which he obtains a respite, the debtor must give as good security as, or better than, he had previously given. If a dispute arises about the security, the council of the lord of the creditor shall demand as good security as, or better than, before. And if the security is not fixed by that lord, it shall be fixed by the council of the prince of the land.

12. If any lord or prince under whose jurisdiction the said creditors or debtors shall be, shall not wish to observe, or shall not cause to be observed, this decree concerning the respite for debts or the assignments, he shall be warned by his metropolitan or bishop; if he shall not make amends within forty days, he may be placed by the same under a sentence of excommunication. Nevertheless, as long as the lord or prince shall be willing to prove, in the presence of his metropolitan or bishop, that in this respect he has not failed in his duty to either creditor or debtor, and that he is prepared to comply with the decree, the metropolitan or bishop shall not have the power to excommunicate him.

13. No crusader, whether clerk, knight, or any one else, shall be obliged to defend himself in a law suit, concerning the land of which he was tenant, from the day on which he takes the cross until he returns from his undertaking, unless the suit had been brought against him before he had taken the cross.

4. *Privileges granted by the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215.**
Mansi, Concilia, vol, XXII, p. 1057 sq. Latin.

Moreover, we grant to the clergy that they may retain their fiefs intact for three years as if they were resident in their churches; and if necessary, they may mortgage them for the same length of time.

In order that nothing relating to Christ's business may be neglected, we wish and command patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots and others who have charge of souls, to set forth zealously to those committed to their care the word of the cross, exhorting in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost,—one only, true and eternal God,—kings, dukes, princes, marquises, counts, barons and other magnates, also the communities of cities, towns and villages, who do not go in person to the aid of the Holy Land, to send a suitable number of warriors, with the necessary expenses for three years, according to their individual means, for the remission of their own sins—as is stated in our general letters, and as is also stated below, for the greater surety.

Of this remission we wish to be partakers, not only those who furnish their own vessels, but also those who may have striven to build ships for this purpose. Moreover, let it be sternly announced by apostolic authority to those who refuse—if perchance any shall be so ungrateful to our Lord God—that they are to understand that for this they will have to answer to us on the last day of the strict judgment, before an awful judge. Nevertheless, let them first consider with what conscience or what security they will be able to appear before the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, into whose hands the Father gave all things, if they shall refuse in this matter, which is peculiarly fitting for them, to aid Him who was crucified for sinners, by whose bounty they live, by whose kindness they are maintained, nay, more, by whose blood they have been redeemed.

Since it is certainly right that those who give their allegiance to the heavenly Emperor should enjoy a special privilege: when the time of the expedition shall exceed one year in length, the crusaders shall be free from collections, tallages and other taxes. And we have taken their persons and property, after the assumption of the cross, under St.

* The whole of the decree relating to the crusade is translated in Henderson, pp. 337–344.

Peter's and our own protection, and we have decided that their defence shall be entrusted to the archbishops, bishops and all the prelates of the church. We have also appointed officers of our own especially for their protection, in order that their property may be kept intact and uninjured, until their death or return is known with certainty. And if any one attempts any attack upon their property he shall be restrained by ecclesiastical censure.

If any of those setting out thither are bound by oath to pay interest, we command that their creditors shall be compelled by the same means to release them from their oaths and to desist from the exaction of interest. But if any creditor shall compel them to pay interest, we order that he shall be forced by a similar chastisement to pay it back.

We command that the Jews, however, shall be compelled by the secular power to remit interest; and until they remit it all association of any kind with them shall be refused by all faithful Christians, under penalty of excommunication. For those, moreover, unable at present to pay their debt to the Jews, the secular princes shall provide by a useful delay, so that after they begin their journey they shall suffer no inconvenience from interest, until their death or return is known with certainty. The Jews shall be compelled, after deducting the necessary expenses, to count the income which they receive in the meantime from the mortgaged property toward the payment of the principal; since a favor of this kind which defers the payment and does not cancel the debt does not seem to cause much loss. Moreover, let the prelates of the church, who are proven to be negligent in doing justice to the crusaders and their families, understand that they shall be severely punished.

Therefore, trusting in the mercy of omnipotent God, and in the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, by that power of binding and loosing which God has conferred on us, although unworthy, we grant to all, who undergo the labor in their own person and at their own expense, full remission of the sins of which they have truly repented with contrite hearts, and which they have confessed with their mouths; and at the retribution of the just we promise an increase of eternal salvation. To those also who do not go thither in person, but yet according to their ability and means send suitable men at their expense, and to those likewise who go in person, although at the expense of others, we promise full remission of their sins. We also will and grant that, according to the kind of their aid, and the depth of their devotion, all

shall partake of this remission who minister fitly from their property to the aid of that land or furnish opportune counsel and assistance. Also on all who piously proceed in this task the universal Synod bestows in common the aid of all its benefits that it may worthily conduce to their salvation. Amen.

5. *Privileges granted for the Crusade against the Heretics in Languedoc, 1207–08.*

Regesta Inn. III, Lib. X, Ep. 149, and Lib. XI, Ep. 156–159. Latin. (The Regesta are reprinted in Migne's Patrologiæ, etc. Books X and XI are in Vol. 215.)

Since those who fight for liberty of the church ought to be fostered by the protection of the church, we, by our apostolic authority, have decided that our beloved, who in obedience to Christ are signed—or are about to be signed—against the provincial heretics, from the time that they, according to the ordinance of our legates, place on their breasts the sign of the quickening cross, to fight against the heretics, shall be under the protection of the apostolic seat and of ourselves, with their persons and lands, their possessions and men, and also all of their other property; and until full proof is obtained of their return or death all the above shall remain as they were, free and undisturbed.

The above is taken from Lib. XI, Ep. 156, written to the Archbishops, Bishops, etc., on October 11, 1208, from Ferentino. Owing to lack of space, it is not possible to print all the letters referring to the privileges. Lib. X, Ep. 149, offers remission of sins and protection to crusaders, and also grants possession of all land taken from the heretics. Lib. XI, Ep. 157, permits the clergy to mortgage their property for two years, in order to obtain money for the crusade. Lib. XI, Ep. 158, confirms some of the above privileges and frees crusaders from paying interest. Lib. XI, Ep. 159, enjoins king Philip of France to compel the Jews to remit all interest to the crusaders. Numerous other letters in the Regesta confirm one or more of the privileges mentioned.

6. *Privileges granted for a Crusade against Frederic II.*

Extract from letter of Innocent IV, Aug. 30, 1248.

Huillard-Bréholles; Hist. diplomatica Frederici Secundi, VIII. 647–8. Latin.

Wherefore we advise that publicly in Rome, Campania, and Maratima, you preach a crusade against the aforesaid Frederic; and that you also cause suitable men to preach the crusade frequently and solemnly. And by our authority grant the remission of sins,—which was granted in the General Council to those who went to the succor of

the Holy Land—to all those who with fervent zeal choose to undertake a crusade against the same Frederic, in order to aid the church in rooting out, from the aforesaid kingdom, the perfidy which flows from its diseased head to the adjacent members, and in restoring there the faith formerly cherished. And also publish solemnly, and cause others to publish, that the same Frederic and all who aid him by counsel, succor or favor, in person or property, openly or secretly, are excommunicated by us; and also that the whole kingdom of Sicily is placed under an ecclesiastical interdict, as long as it shall adhere to him.

7. *Privilege granted by Louis IX, 1270.**
Établissemens, Bk. I, 84, in Isambert: Anciennes Lois, II, 465. Old French.

If the king, or a count, or a baron, or any lord who has the right of jurisdiction in his land, arrests a clerk, or crusader, or any man of religion, even if he is a layman, the lord ought to deliver him to the holy church, whatever may be his crime. And if the clerk has committed a crime for which the penalty is death by hanging, and is not tonsured, the secular justice ought to try him. But if he is tonsured and wears the habit of a clerk, even if he is a thief, no confession, no answer that he may make, can injure him, for he is not before his regular judges; and any confession made by one who is not before his regular judges has no value, according to the law written in the Decretals, *De judiciis cap. Et si clerici* and *cap. Cum homine* [*Cum non ab homine*].†

IV. *PETER THE HERMIT.*

Two of the participants were soon singled out by popular tradition as the heroes of the first crusade. Godfrey of Bouillon was pre-eminently the representative of the warlike element, and was falsely glorified as the leader of the whole expedition. His descent was traced from "the knight of the swan," and many were the valorous deeds imputed to him. But the ascetic element was even more important than the military, and Peter the Hermit was selected as the representative of the ideal ascetic. His real deeds were obscured by the fables which clustered about his name.

It is certain that he never was in Jerusalem before the first crusade; that he did not incite Urban to preach the crusade; that he did not speak at Clermont; that his preaching was limited to a few months and a small part of France, and that he was in no way "the immediate cause of the crusade." Guibert gives the best account of

* For explanation of some of the points in the above, see "Benefit of Clergy" in H. C. Lea's Studies in Church History; especially pp. 206, ff. (Ed. 1883.)

† Corpus Juris Canonici, c. 4 and 10, X, II. 1.

the real Peter. The passages from William of Tyre have been translated to illustrate the fables which were common a century after the first crusade, and show the spirit to which these fables owed their rise.

1. *Guibert of Nogent's Account.*
Hist. Hieros. Bk. II, ch. viii. Recueil, IV, 142 f. Bongars, I, 482. Latin.

Therefore, while the princes, who felt the need of many expenses and great services from their attendants, made their preparations slowly and carefully; the common people who had little property, but were very numerous, joined a certain Peter the Hermit, and obeyed him as a master while these affairs were going on among us.

He was, if I am not mistaken, from the city of Amiens, and we have learned that he had lived as a hermit, dressed as a monk, somewhere in Upper Gaul. After he had departed from there—I do not know with what intention—we saw him going through the cities and towns under a pretense of preaching. He was surrounded by so great throngs of people, he received such enormous gifts, his holiness was lauded so highly, that no one within my memory has been held in such honor.

He was very liberal in the distribution to the poor of what he had received. He restored prostitutes to their husbands with gifts. By his wonderful authority he restored everywhere peace and concord, in place of discord. For in whatever he did or said it seemed as if there was something divine, especially when the hairs were snatched from his mule for relics. We do not report this as true, but for the common people who love novelties. He wore a woolen shirt, and over it a mantle reaching to his ankles; his arms and feet were bare. He lived on wine and fish; he hardly ever, or never, ate bread.

2. *William of Tyre's Account.*
Belli sacri hist. Bk. I, ch. ii, ff. Recueil, I, 32 ff. Bongars, I, 637–8. Latin.

A certain priest named Peter, from the kingdom of the Franks and the bishopric of Amiens, a hermit both in deed and name, led by the same ardor, arrived at Jerusalem. He was small in stature and his external appearance contemptible, but greater valor ruled in his slight frame. For he was sharp witted, his glance was bright and captivating, and he spoke with ease and eloquence. Having paid the tax which was exacted from all Christians who wished to enter, he went into the

city and was entertained by a trusty man who was also a confessor of Christ. He diligently questioned his host, as he was a zealous man, and learned more fully from him not only the existing perils, but also the persecutions which their ancestors had suffered long before. And if in what he heard any details were lacking, he completed the account from the witness of his own eyes. For remaining in the city and visiting the churches he learned more fully the truth of what had been told to him by others.

Hearing also that the Patriarch of the city was a devout and God-fearing man, he wished to confer with him and to learn more fully from him the truth concerning some matters. Accordingly he went to him, and having been presented by a trustworthy man, both he and the Patriarch mutually enjoyed their conferences.

The name of the Patriarch was Simeon. As he learned from Peter's conversation that the latter was prudent, able and eloquent, and a man of great experience, he began to disclose to him more confidentially all the evils which the people of God had suffered while dwelling in Jerusalem.

To whom Peter replied: "You may be assured, holy father, that if the Roman church and the princes of the West should learn from a zealous and a reliable witness the calamities which you suffer, there is not the slightest doubt that they would hasten to remedy the evil, both by words and deeds. Write them zealously both to the lord Pope and the Roman church and to the kings and princes of the West, and confirm your letter by the authority of your seal. I, truly, for the sake of the salvation of my soul, do not hesitate to undertake this task. And I am prepared under God's guidance to visit them all, to exhort them all, zealously to inform them of the greatness of your sufferings and to urge them to hasten to your relief."

Of a truth, Thou art great, O Lord our God, and to thy mercy there is no end! Of a truth, blessed Jesus, those who trust in Thee shall not be brought to confusion! How did this poor pilgrim, destitute of all resources and far from his native land, have so great confidence that he dared to undertake an enterprise so much beyond his strength and to hope to accomplish his vow, unless it was that he turned all his thoughts to Thee, his protector, and filled with charity, pitying the misfortunes of his brethren, loving his neighbor as himself, he was

content to fulfill the law? Strength is a vain thing, but charity overcometh. What his brethren prescribed might appear difficult and even impossible, but the love of God and of his neighbor rendered it easy for him, for love is strong as death. Faith which worketh by love availeth with Thee, and the good deeds near Thee do not remain without fruit. Accordingly Thou didst not permit Thy servant long to remain in doubt. Thou didst manifest Thyself to him. Thou didst fortify him by Thy revelation that he might not hesitate, and breathing into him Thy hidden spirit, Thou madest him arise with greater strength to accomplish the work of charity.

Therefore, after performing the usual prayers, taking leave of the lord Patriarch and receiving his blessing, he went to the sea-coast. There he found a vessel belonging to some merchants who were preparing to cross to Apulia. He went on board, and after a successful journey arrived at Bari. Thence he proceeded to Rome, and found the lord Pope Urban in the vicinity. He presented the letters of the Patriarch and of the Christians who dwelt at Jerusalem, and showed their misery and the abominations which the unclean races wrought in the holy places. Thus faithfully and prudently he performed the commission entrusted to him.

V. *ACCOUNT OF THE START.*

Recueil, III, 328. Bongars, I, 385. Latin.

Fulcher of Chartres took part in the first crusade, and has left us many a vivid picture of the more important incidents. His account of the start has been translated in order to show the conflict of emotions in the breasts of the crusaders, and the motive which was strong enough to overcome the natural affections.*

Such then was the immense assemblage which set out from the West. Gradually along the march, and from day to day, the army grew by the addition of other armies, coming from every direction and composed of innumerable people. Thus one saw an infinite multitude, speaking different languages and come from divers countries. All did not, however, come together into a single army until we had reached the city of Nicaea. What shall I add? The isles of the sea and the kingdoms of the whole earth were moved by God, so that one might believe fulfilled the prophecy of David, who said in the Psalm: "All

* For another account by William of Malmesbury, see Michaud: History of the Crusades (English Translation, London, 1852), III, 356.

nations whom Thou hast made shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord; and shall glorify Thy name," and that all those who reached the holy places afterwards said justly: "We will worship where His feet have stood." Concerning this journey we read very many other predictions in the prophets, which it would be tedious to recall.

Oh, how great was the grief, how deep the sighs, what weeping, what lamentations among the friends, when the husband left the wife so dear to him, his children also, and all his possessions of any kind, father, mother, brethren or kindred! And yet in spite of these floods of tears which those who remained shed for their friends about to depart, and in their very presence, the latter did not suffer their courage to fail, and, out of love for the Lord, in no way hesitated to leave all that they held most precious, believing without doubt that they would gain that hundred-fold in receiving the recompense which God has promised to those who love Him.

Then the husband announced to his wife the time of his return, assuring her that if he lived by God's grace he would return to her. He commended her to the Lord, gave her a kiss, and, weeping, promised to return. But the latter, who feared that she would never see him again, overcome with grief, was unable to stand, fell lifeless to the ground, and wept over her dear one whom she was losing in life, as if he were already dead. He then, as if he had no pity—and nevertheless he was filled with pity—and was not moved by the grief of any friends—and yet he was secretly moved—departed with a firm purpose. The sadness was for those who remained, and the joy for those who departed. What more can we say? "This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvelous in our eyes."

VI. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

This is not intended for a bibliography of the crusades, but only to aid in the use of this pamphlet.

I. GENERAL WORKS.

1. **Wilken: Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1807–1832.**

2. **Michaud: Histoire des Croisades. 1st ed., Paris, 1812–1817, in 3 vols. Various later editions; the 7th, 4 vols., 1862, much improved. Also in English translation, 3 vols.**

3. **Kugler: Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. 1 vol. 2d edition. Berlin, 1891, in Oncken's Allgemeine Geschichte.**

4. Archer and Kingsford: The Crusades. 1 vol. New York, 1895, in "The Story of the Nations" series.

The first is the most complete history of the crusades. The later volumes are still extremely valuable, and must form the basis of any comprehensive study of the period. But the volume dealing with the first crusade is of little use. Wilken relied upon the statements of William of Tyre, and consequently his account is untrustworthy.

To the second the same objection can be applied with even greater force. Michaud's history, although very readable, is not a safe guide, and shows very little critical genius.

The third is scholarly and has good bibliographical notes; it is illustrated and supplied with maps. There is, unfortunately, no index, and since 1891 there has been much excellent work on the crusades which would modify some of the statements made by Kugler.

The fourth is the best work in English, but some subjects are neglected and certain chapters are unsatisfactory.

II. THE SOURCES.

1. Recueil des historiens des Croisades. In course of publication since 1841. The historians are divided into four series. Of the Western chroniclers, five volumes have been published.
2. Bongarsius: Gesta Dei per Francos. 2 vols. Hanoviae, 1611.
3. Guizot: Collection des Mémoires relatifs a l' histoire de France. 31 vols. Paris, 1824–1835.

Each of these contains most of the chronicles mentioned in this pamphlet; the first two in the original Latin, the third in a French translation which is very imperfect.

III. WORKS ON THE FIRST CRUSADE.

1. H. von Sybel: Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges. 2d ed. Leipzig, 1881.
2. Hagenmeyer: Peter der Eremite. Leipzig, 1879.

The first is the best work on the first crusade. The second discusses all the questions connected with Peter the Hermit and disposes of the fables. It is rich in citations from the sources, and is of great value for the history of the first crusade. There is also a French translation.

Sybel's History and Literature of the Crusades contains four of his lectures and an analysis of the sources which still has some value. This compilation, however, is due to the translator, Lady Duff Gordon, and not to Sybel himself. Michaud's Bibliothèque des Croisades can be used only with care, but the fourth volume, containing extracts from the Arabic historians, is useful. Ducange's Glossarium, under "*Crucesignati*" should be used for the privileges of the crusaders; also H. C. Lea's History of the Inquisition, Vol. I, p. 42, ff. et passim, and especially his latest work, History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.

History of Western Civilization

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V. English Manorial Documents.* Double number, 32 pages.
VI. The Pre-Reformation Period.* Double number, 34 pages.

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I. The Early Christian Persecutions.† Double number, 32 pages.
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II. Protest of the *Cour des Aides*, April, 1775. viii, 154 pages.

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